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64TH CONGRESS }
2d Session }

SENATE

{ DOCUMENT
No. 721

JAMES P. CLARKE

(Late a Senator from Arkansas)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE
AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

Proceedings in the Senate
February 18, 1917

Proceedings in the House
February 18, 1917

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING



18-25210
WASHINGTON
1917

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DEATH OF HON. JAMES P. CLARKE

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

MONDAY, *December 4, 1916.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, the representatives of the people have gathered together to give direction to the course of the civil affairs of this great Nation. We recognize Thy good hand that has led us on from the beginning until this day. We acknowledge before Thee first of all our infinite debt of gratitude and would make mention of Thy name, the name of the God of our fathers, which is above every name to us and to the Nation.

We desire to renew our covenant with Thee to enter into heartiest accord with Thy will and Thy purpose. We praise Thee that Thou dost continue us in brotherly spirit and unity of purpose; that nothing has occurred in this Nation since we last met which has separated brother from brother or our recognition of our common interests or the pursuit of our high ideals. We pray that Thou wilt continue to us the blessings of the past; that Thou wilt give to us a common purpose, the strength of conviction and loyalty to the great ideals of our national life.

We name before Thee in loving memory and in high appreciation one who has departed from us since we last met. We praise Thy name for the high example that he has set, for the service that he has rendered to the country, for the memory that abides to be cherished on through the days of our national life.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

We pray Thee to equip these men whom Thou dost this day call into Thy service of leadership, that they may have wisdom and grace to follow the example of those who have lived high lives and have served Thee humbly and faithfully, so that they may have a part in the future glory of our great Nation.

Forgive our national sins. Accept our praises for Thy loving-kindness, and bless all the people. For Christ's sake. Amen.

Mr. ROBINSON submitted the following resolutions (S. Res. 281), which were read:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas and President pro tempore of the Senate.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions submitted by the Senator from Arkansas.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of my late colleague, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, December 5, 1916, at 12 o'clock meridian.

TUESDAY, December 12, 1916.

The Vice President presented resolutions adopted by sundry citizens of the municipality of Calumpit, Bulacan, P. I., in mass meeting assembled, on the death of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas and President pro tempore of the Senate, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the Record, as follows:

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

[Translation]

CALUMPIT, BULACAN, P. I.,

November 1, 1916.

SIR: I have the honor to forward you, inclosed herewith, copy of a resolution of sympathy adopted by the residents of this municipality of Calumpit, Bulacan, upon the death of the Senator from Arkansas, United States, Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, valiant defender of Philippine independence, in order that you may advise the Ameriean Senate thereof.

Very respectfully,

M. SERRANO.

The SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN SENATE,

Washington, D. C.

[Translation]

MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY

CALUMPIT, BULACAN, P. I.,

October 29, 1916.

The town of Calumpit voices the regret created throughout the Philippines by the news of the death of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, Senator from Arkansas, in a mass meeting composed of the residents of said municipality, held on this date at 6 p. m. in the Plaza Rizal, opposite the city hall. After a patriotic address delivered by the municipal president, Mr. Mariano Serrano, upon the death of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, Senator from Arkansas, it was agreed, in the form of a resolution, to express the sympathy of the town of Calumpit for the death of the Senator, and for which purpose a committee of three was appointed, composed of Messrs. Mariano Serrano, Deogracias Macam, and Sergio Céspedes, to draft and send the message of sympathy.

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Manila press, in telegrams received from the United States, has given the sad news of the death in America of Senator JAMES P. CLARKE;

Whereas it is common knowledge that the deceased Senator is the author of the famous amendment called the "Clarke amendment," whereby the concession of absolute independence to the Philippines was provided, to take effect in not less than two nor more than four years;

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

Whereas said amendment, while through unprecedented efforts of some enemies to our cause in the United States, was not converted into law, was a faithful and unmistakable expression of the sympathies of the illustrious Senator, deceased, with the cause of independence of the Filipino people;

Whereas in the death of Senator JAMES P. CLARKE the Philippine Islands have lost one of their most loyal, enthusiastic, and determined supporters of their cause: Therefore the town of Calumpit

Resolved, To express, as it hereby does express, the profound sorrow with which it has received the news of the death of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, of Arkansas, Member of the United States Senate and President pro tempore thereof.

Resolved further, That the committee appointed forward copies of this resolution to the Senate of the United States, to the family of the deceased, and to the Manila press, especially to the papers *El Ideal* and *Consolidación*, for its publication, as well as to the two houses of the Philippine Legislature.

MARIANO SERRANO.
DEOGRACIAS MACAM.
SERGIO CÉSPEDEZ.

SATURDAY, *December 16, 1916.*

The Vice President presented resolutions adopted by the municipal board of Manila, Philippine Islands, on the death of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a United States Senator from the State of Arkansas, which were ordered to lie on the table.

The resolutions and letter of transmittal are as follows:

CITY OF MANILA, MUNICIPAL BOARD,
November 6, 1916.

SIR: I have the honor to send you herewith self-explanatory copy of resolution adopted by the municipal board of the city of Manila, and to request that the same be read in the United States Senate, of which you are the honorable President.

Respectfully,

PERFECTO DEL ROSARIO,

Secretary.

To the PRESIDENT UNITED STATES SENATE,

Washington, D. C.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

EXCERPT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MUNICIPAL BOARD OF THE CITY
OF MANILA OF NOVEMBER 6, 1916

Whereas the Almighty God has seen fit to take to His bosom the pure soul of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late United States Senator from the State of Arkansas;

Whereas the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE during his long life has evidenced before his countrymen and foreigners the austerity of his conscience by practicing what is right and doing what is just;

Whereas the Hon. J. P. CLARKE moved and tenaciously and heroically defended his very well-known amendment to the then Jones bill;

Whereas said favorable amendment was the best that could fit the warmest Filipino love for his national independence, at the same time guaranteeing the absolute transfer under firm and sure basis, the actual United States sovereignty over the Philippines to the Filipino people within a period of time not less than two nor more than four years;

Whereas in this country from time immemorial come forth by spontaneous generation the fragrant and delicate flower of gratitude: Therefore be it

Resolved by this municipal board, as now it hereby does, to manifest its profoundest sorrow for the death of the honorable Senator from Arkansas, J. P. CLARKE, making its condolence of record and sending copies of this resolution to the distinguished family of the deceased and to the United States Senate.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of resolution adopted from the minutes of the municipal board on the date above written.

DOMINADOR GOMEZ,
President.

CITY OF MANILA, MUNICIPAL BOARD,

November 7, 1916.

THURSDAY, January 11, 1917.

Mr. KERN, Mr. President, I desire to give notice that on Saturday, the 17th day of February, 1917, immediately after the routine morning business, the Senate will be asked to consider resolutions in commemoration of the

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

life, character, and public services of Senator Benjamin F. Shively, of Indiana; of Senator Edwin C. Burleigh, of Maine; and of Senator JAMES P. CLARKE, of Arkansas.

SATURDAY, *January 13, 1917.*

The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate a message of condolence from the municipal council of Calauan, Laguna, Philippine Islands, on the death of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas, which was referred to the Committee on the Philippines.

The message and resolutions are as follows:

[Translation]

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF CALAUAN,
Laguna, P. I.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION HELD
BY THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF CALAUAN AT 7 O'CLOCK ON NOVEMBER 2, 1916

Present: Mr. Ramón Limdico, president pro tempore; Mr. Juan Castro, Mr. Laureano Calongealong, Mr. Simeon Javier, Mr. Brigido Pascual, Mr. Julian Aquino, Mr. Cipriano Malate, Mr. Agustín Mediario, councilors.

Absent: Mr. Gaspar Fajardo, president.

NOTE.—One seat on the council vacant.

Mr. Ramón Limdico, municipal vice president, acting president in the absence of the incumbent, reported to the council a resolution of the municipal president, Mr. Gaspar Fajardo, in consequence of the sad notice published by the press relative to the death of the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, Senator from Arkansas, United States of America, who in life defended the early independence of the Philippines.

On motion of Councilor Brigido Pascual, seconded by all those present, the following was agreed upon:

RESOLUTION NO. 64

Whereas the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE died in Little Rock, Ark., on the 1st of the present month of October;

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

Whereas the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE during the discussion of the present Jones bill introduced an amendment that conceded independence to the Philippines within a period of not more than four years or less than two years;

Whereas in the death of the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE the Philippines have lost one of the best defenders of their cause: Therefore *Resolved*, That the municipal council of Calauan, Province of Laguna, P. I., express, as it hereby expresses, the profound sorrow with which it has received the news of the death of the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, and

Resolved further, That the municipal secretary of this body be ordered to send a certified copy of this resolution to the Senate of the United States of America through the provincial board, as well as to the family of the deceased and to the press.

I certify that the foregoing resolution is faithfully transcribed.

Q. P. TESORO,
Municipal Secretary.

Copy for the Senate of the United States of America, through the provincial board of Laguna, P. I.

OFFICE OF THE MUNICIPAL SECRETARY,
Calauan, La Laguna, P. I.

[First indorsement]

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF LAGUNA,
SANTA CRUZ, P. I.,
November 29, 1916.

Respectfully forwarded to the Senate of the United States of America.

By order of the provincial board.

CASTO MANDI,
Secretary Provincial Board.

THURSDAY, *February 15, 1917.*

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, some days ago the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Kern] gave notice that on Saturday, the 17th day of February, 1917, immediately after the routine morning business, he would ask the Senate to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public services of the late Senator Benjamin

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

F. Shively, of Indiana; the late Senator Edwin C. Burleigh, of Maine; and of the late Senator JAMES P. CLARKE, of Arkansas. A conference has been held by Senators from the States of Indiana, Maine, and Arkansas, and at the suggestion of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Kern] and other Senators, and for the convenience of Senators, I submit a request for unanimous consent, as follows:

That the Senate convene on Sunday, February 18, 1917, at 11 o'clock a. m., to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public services of the late Senator Benjamin F. Shively, of Indiana; the late Senator Edwin C. Burleigh, of Maine; and the late Senator JAMES P. CLARKE, of Arkansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Beckham in the chair). Is there objection to the unanimous - consent agreement? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

SUNDAY, *February 18, 1917.*

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. President, pursuant to the notice heretofore given, I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk and ask for their adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF MR. ROBINSON, OF ARKANSAS

Mr. PRESIDENT: The notable career of the late Senator JAMES P. CLARKE, of Arkansas, was closed by sudden death on October 1, 1916. Within four months after his demise the legislature of our State adopted a resolution providing for the erection of his statue in Statuary Hall in commemoration of his services to Arkansas and to the Nation.

Mr. CLARKE was born in Yazoo City, Miss., August 18, 1854. He studied in the common schools and other local educational institutions of Mississippi and graduated in law at the University of Virginia in 1878. He entered upon the practice of his profession at Helena, Ark., in the following year. In 1886 his political career began with service in the lower house of the general assembly. In 1888 he was elected to the State senate for a term of four years, becoming president pro tempore of that body and ex officio lieutenant governor. In 1892 he was elected attorney general of Arkansas, and in 1894 governor of that State. Three years later he resumed the practice of law at Little Rock and actively pursued his profession until his election to the United States Senate in 1902. His service in this body began March 4, 1903, and his influential activities here continued until his death.

The action of the General Assembly of Arkansas in authorizing the statue of Senator CLARKE to be placed in our National Hall of Fame within so short a time following his departure is an unusual tribute. Considered in connection with the fact that he had many personal antagonisms and political controversies, the enmities of

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

which must have survived him, this tribute to his character and services is the more pronounced. This honor was prompted by appreciation of the personal integrity and marked ability which characterized the private and public career of Senator CLARKE rather than by affection and gratitude. There are other names associated with the progress of Arkansas that thrill her people with loving memories. Gen. Patrick Cleburne ranks with Jeb Stuart, Bedford Forrest, and Stonewall Jackson in courage and daring. The songs of Albert Pike, his chivalry, knightly character and striking personality, render him immortal. Augustus H. Garland was among the Nation's greatest lawyers and statesmen. James K. Jones led his party for many years with courage, fidelity, and distinction. U. M. Rose was for the lifetime of a generation the most cultured man at the American bar. His knowledge of literature and art was not greater than his comprehension of the principles of justice and equity, which form the basis of our social, industrial, and political system. Any two of these are worthy of places in Statuary Hall, and it has been the difficulty of choosing among them that has kept vacant one of the niches reserved for Arkansas. Any man who pursues a long political career must incur enmities. One who is always aggressive and uncompromising naturally accumulates many political enemies. This was the case with Senator CLARKE. Yet so highly is his memory esteemed in Arkansas that the legislature has already voted the resolution according him a place among the Nation's immortals.

PERSONAL HABITS

One of the secrets of the success which attended the efforts of Senator CLARKE is found in his personal habits. They were in every respect above reproach and criticism.

ADDRESS OF MR. ROBINSON, OF ARKANSAS

Notwithstanding his impulsive nature, he never dissipated and never indulged in excesses in any form. He abstained from the use of alcohol and tobacco, was systematic in his labors, and regular in his hours of work and recreation. His exercise consisted almost entirely of walking. He never engaged in sports or pastimes. Had he done so, in all probability he would still survive. He lived in a state of almost constant tension. His amusements were limited to the pleasantries of conversations with intimate associates. He rarely attended theaters, never read poetry, and found little pleasure in music. His greatest delight came from his knowledge and study of the peculiarities and personal traits of prominent men. Senator CLARKE read comparatively few books. In speeches he rarely quoted any one; yet he possessed the greatest fund of valuable information and the smallest amount of useless knowledge of any man I have ever known. The sources of his knowledge, its accuracy and thoroughness, were sometimes subjects of amazement to his friends.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS PUBLIC SERVICE

It is not practicable to review on this occasion the details of his public service. It is my good fortune to have known him all my life and to be familiar with the mainsprings of both his public and private conduct. They were integrity, courage, absolute independence, and consequent masterful will power. His public career was long. There was never an hour of it when his character and conduct were not under the scrutiny of friends and enemies, notwithstanding his detestation of notoriety; yet he was never suspected of dishonesty or of willful disloyalty to the public interests. He was always observed and frequently assailed, but never was his personal or official integrity impeached or questioned. He once said to me: "I have some confidences but no secrets."

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

Physical and moral courage were equally distinctive traits of this remarkable man. His physical courage was primitive, at times almost savage. Until late in life his habit was to invite conflict, never to avoid it. He had many personal encounters. The readiness with which he avenged an insult and the relentlessness with which he pursued an enemy were perhaps the least admirable traits of his otherwise marvelous character.

It is not often that moral and physical courage in equal proportions are combined in a single character, but in Senator CLARKE extraordinary physical courage was equaled, if not excelled, by moral courage. He did not fear to take any stand, to advance against any measure which his judgment condemned, or to spring to the support of any principle which his conscience approved. He was the only public man I ever knew whom I regarded as absolutely free from demagoguery and every other form of political pretense or dissimulation. A great man who has served a generation in Congress once said:

I am as sincere in my public utterances and acts as the exigencies of polities will permit.

He spoke the truth. Next to Senator CLARKE, that man approaches as nearly to absolute independence of thought and action in public matters as any man whom I have known. A great newspaper published in Arkansas once said, in substance:

Whatever one's personal feelings toward him may be, Senator CLARKE can not fairly be accused of any form of demagoguery.

Indeed, he was more likely to choose the unpopular than the popular position. The unqualified independence of Senator CLARKE frequently brought him into opposition with his party associates. During the administration of President Roosevelt the Panama Canal legislation was opposed by the Democratic organization in the Sen-

ADDRESS OF MR. ROBINSON, OF ARKANSAS

ate. Its passage was accomplished, as Mr. Roosevelt has stated, largely through the exertions of Senator CLARKE.

When the so-called Bristow amendment, the joint resolution providing for the election of United States Senators by popular vote, was pending in the Senate many Democratic Senators from Southern States expressed the fear that force bills would result, and sought to modify the amendment so as to deny to the Federal Government control over elections. Senator CLARKE declared that the preservation of the Government may in the future depend upon its control of the selection of its officers. He voted for the Bristow amendment and against the Bacon amendment giving to the States the power to fix the times, places, and manner of holding elections. The Bristow amendment became a part of the Constitution. His vote was indispensable to its passage. His contribution last Congress to the defeat of the ship-purchase bill, strongly advocated by the administration, and its modification during the present Congress to conform in part to his views are familiar history to all Senators.

His election as President pro tempore of the Senate when the Democrats secured control of the organization in 1913 was an honor which he and the people of our State heartily appreciated. Speaking for the most part to Senators who are familiar with his personality and his services, I deem it not improper to say that this recognition was the tribute of his associates to his unimpeachable integrity and his notable ability, and was in no wise the result of that partiality which sometimes brings unmerited favor to men in public life.

His reelection as President pro tempore of the Senate at a time when his relationship with some of his party colleagues was strained on account of his opposition to the ship-purchase bill, an administration measure, gives em-

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

phasis to this view and illustrates his ability to impress his personality upon his associates in spite of the opposition which his course inevitably aroused.

When the Adamson eight-hour bill was voted upon by the Senate, Senator CLARKE and one other Democrat voted against the measure. He regarded the bill as a direct encroachment upon the freedom of contract and as legislation under improper restraint and influences approximating compulsion. It has been stated that he declined to sign the bill as President pro tempore because of his opposition to it. It is true that he vacated the chair and called the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Hughes] to preside when the bill was received for signature; but I happen to know that his action in this instance was not prompted by his opposition to the measure but by a desire to accord the privilege of signing it to one of his intimate personal friends who had been a strong advocate of the bill and whose whole career in Congress had been signalized by a friendly attitude toward legislation in the interest of labor. There is no mistake in the assertion that he was unalterably opposed to the bill, but his failure to sign it was prompted principally by the sentimental consideration above stated rather than by sheer obstinacy.

The Panama Canal bill, the Bristow amendment, the ship-purchase bill, and the eight-hour law are all measures of paramount and far-reaching importance. All forms of political and personal pressure, amounting to almost temporary social and political ostracism, were exerted to induce him to yield in every one of these instances. In no case did he seriously consider modifying his position except with reference to the ship-purchase bill. In that case, if he did not slightly modify his attitude, he was almost persuaded to do so.

ADDRESS OF MR. ROBINSON, OF ARKANSAS

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

During the last session of Congress, when the Philippine Government bill was under consideration, Senator CLARKE offered an amendment providing for independence to the Filipinos within a short, fixed period. Opposition to the amendment was organized and powerful, and the contest was one of the fiercest which I have observed in Congress during 15 years' service. His amendment, in a modified form, passed the Senate, but was defeated in the House of Representatives. Its defeat was a great disappointment to Senator CLARKE, who believed in a prompt grant of independence to the Philippines as necessary to preserve amicable relations with certain oriental powers, and to maintain the honor and good faith of the United States as expressed in its traditional policies, its treaties, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence.

These instances illustrate his independent grasp of public questions. They are by no means exhaustive. His views and services were practical rather than theoretical. He never advocated purely idealistic propositions, but invariably justified his course by considerations of justice and the public interest.

DOMINATING SPIRIT

The impatience with which he encountered opposition, his decisive views and aggressive assertion of them, and his dominating spirit are known to every Senator here. His appeal was to the group rather than to the individual or the multitude. His influence with courts, juries, committees, and like organizations was remarkable, and at times astounding. He was almost indifferent to popular opinion. His freedom from all forms of demagoguery, of which I have already spoken, is illustrated by the fact that he never advertised, never appealed to sympathy.

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Unfriendliness toward newspapers and newspaper men marked his entire public career. He rarely granted interviews, never explained through the newspapers, and frequently provoked unfriendly editorial comment by an intolerant manner. Some of the newspapers in our State pursued a persistent policy of antagonizing him and their reporters and correspondents were instructed to "knock" him. He rarely took public notice of unfavorable comments, but freely expressed, in a personal way, his resentment at this treatment.

Had he pursued a different course, had he been considerate of the feelings of newspaper reporters and availed himself, as most public men do, of fair and just opportunities for publicity, his unusual attainments and mental powers would have been more generally known and appreciated.

SOME CLARKE EPIGRAMS

The power of terse, epigrammatical statement characterized Senator CLARKE's utterances. I have paraphrased a few of his sentences so striking or original as to merit preservation, as follows:

The hate squad in political warfare is always on the firing line, brother; it never sleeps nor goes off duty. It is commanded by disappointed office seekers.

There exist no political friendships; they are merely political alliances.

The ever-increasing details of senatorial labor tend to belittle the office. Under the existing system we exhaust our energy in attention to the trivial and personal requests of our constituents and retain neither the strength nor the disposition to devote ourselves vigorously to the great public issues.

It is not so much the requests of my constituents which I have refused to grant that have embarrassed my public service as those which I have attempted to grant to the neglect of vital public duties.

ADDRESS OF MR. ROBINSON, OF ARKANSAS

No one deserves to be a Senator who shirks responsibility by hiding behind a caueus edict. I am anxious to confer with my colleagues and gladly yield to them in nonessentials, but in matters vital to the Nation's welfare I must be true to my own convictions.

If the people knew the petty jealousies and the selfishness that animate officiaidom, their patriotism might be staggered.

I never placate an enemy.

While every man owes a portion of his time to the public, a poor man is foolish to pursue politics through the earning period of life, and thus approach its end in regret and poverty.

The professional politician, like the professional gambler, always loses the big stake if he plays the game long enough.

One of the important principles of our Government is to minimize the influence of selfishness in its actual administration.

The Constitution is too often invoked to justify as an individual right what the public condemn as a moral wrong.

The traditional devotion of this Government to liberty requires that we pledge a prompt grant of independence to the Philippine people.

Nature compensates in part the loss of power that frequently attends old age by inability to realize approaching senility.

In his last campaign he was exhorted by friends to distribute garden seeds and Government documents as a means of promoting his renomination. In the course of a public speech he said substantially:

I have been told that my candidaey would be more popular if I would send the voters garden seeds and documents. This does not appeal to me as a justification for your favor, but if you view the subject differently you will no doubt be gratified to learn that a carload of Government documents and seed is now on the way to Arkansas. I hope, however, that none of you will be influenced by such means to vote for me.

On another occasion he said:

Complaint is made that I do not answer letters. I receive a great many communications that in no wise relate to my public duties; letters that concern the private wishes of some of my constituents. I have answered every letter which I regarded as

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

worthy of an answer, and I inform you now that if I am reelected to the Senate I shall write fewer letters during the next six years than I have written during the last.

The foregoing are reproduced from memory and are incomplete and inaccurate, but they serve to illustrate and emphasize the unusual character of Senator CLARKE's mind and manner.

COURAGE IN THE FACE OF DEATH

The extraordinary personal courage of this man did not fail him in the face of death. His intimate associates had known for some months before the end that he experienced physical infirmities which occasioned him anxiety. He was aware of the nature of the malady with which he was afflicted—arteriosclerosis—and knew that it was incurable. A few months before his death, contemplating the future, he said to me:

If I could call back ten years, I would propose that we retire from politics and form a partnership for the practice of law; but it is now too late for me to make that change. I am facing the wall.

His face assumed the rigidness of marble, and he concluded with this statement:

I shall end my career in the Senate, and it will not continue long. One of the principal ambitions of my life in youth was to become a United States Senator. My only regret is that I have been unable to so control my labors as to apply my energies unreservedly to the great problems with which I have been called to deal.

Three days before his death Senator CLARKE was stricken in his office with apoplexy, and while being removed to his home in an automobile a young man of my acquaintance passed him on the street. He was sitting upright between two friends. His demeanor was so complacent

ADDRESS OF MR. ROBINSON, OF ARKANSAS

and unchanged that, although he was dying and could not speak, the young man, mistaking his fortitude for the manifestation of health and vigor, said to me an hour later: "I saw the senior Senator a little while ago. He looked unusually well." Imagine my feelings when I shortly learned that he was being borne to his deathbed. On the following Sunday about noon, surrounded by his family, he passed resignedly into eternity.

Senator CLARKE was endowed with a great mind and possessed an indomitable spirit. His devotion to duty, his adherence to the public interest, and his indifference to censure which ordinarily deters feeble souls, marked him as an extraordinary man. If he had yielded to the promptings of his generous heart and forgiven the wrongs which his manner invited; if he had cultivated more flowers and planted fewer trees; if he had known more of charity and less of will, his life would doubtless have been happier, but in all probability his public services would have been less fruitful.

ADDRESS OF MR. LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. PRESIDENT: The news of the death of Senator CLARKE, which came to us last October with the shock of a surprise, brought to me not only genuine sorrow but a deep sense of personal loss. I never had known Senator CLARKE until he entered the Senate, and I shall not attempt to say anything in regard to his career prior to that time, which can be done much better and with a more perfect knowledge by others. I desire merely to give the impression he made upon me during our years together in the Senate. After we first met in this Chamber our acquaintance soon ripened into friendship. Our service upon the Committee on Foreign Relations gave us subjects of a common interest, and this widened to many others, not only those connected with the work of the Senate but to all the matters, great and small, concerning men and things about which friends are wont to talk. Dr. Holmes says that in every one of us there are three men: John as he appears to himself, John as he appears to others, and the real John. But the real man can be discovered, I think, through his acts and words, and through the comparison and combination of the judgments of others. I can only speak of Senator CLARKE as he appeared to me, and my opinion and estimate may vary from those of others, but this at least I can say, that my judgment of him was neither casual nor hasty.

When the wise men of Northumbria gathered, some fourteen hundred years ago, to deliberate on the new Christian faith to which their King Eadwine had pledged himself, an aged ealdorman said:

So seems the life of man, O King, as a sparrow's flight through the hall where a man is sitting at meat in wintertide with the

ADDRESS OF MR. LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

warm fire lighted on the hearths but the chill rainstorm without. The sparrow flies in at one door and tarries for a moment in the light and heat of the hearth fire, and then, flying forth from the other, vanishes into the wintry darkness whence it came. So tarries for a moment the life of man in our sight.

To all engaged in active pursuits, still more to those of us in public life, there comes a vision of many men and many faces as we flutter through the warm and lighted hall of life. One blurs into another and they pass like the marching hundreds of a great procession and leave only the impression of multitude behind. In Meissonier's famous picture of the Cuirassiers passing the Emperor at the Battle of Friedland there is an overwhelming sense conveyed of a vast mass of charging cavalry, of men with uplifted sabers shouting the cry of onset, and of crowding horses, wild eyed and with wide, distended nostrils. And yet I believe there are only seven men and horses actually and separately delineated; all the rest is the indication and suggestion of multitude by the art of the painter. So, as we unroll the canvas where life has stored its pictures, we seem to hear in the silence the tones of many voices like the "sounds of water falling," to see with the eyes of the mind a great gathering of men and women; but as we look closer we discern that memory, like the great artist, has, with cunning hand, given an unescapable effect of numbers, and yet that there are only a few clearly drawn and finished portraits in her gallery. We soon learn to realize, if we reflect upon it, that this is one of nature's more kindly forms of selection, and that the counterfeit presentments which she leaves, deep graven upon the tablets of memory, of those whom we have met in life, after the gates of childhood have closed behind us, are not there by accident. It matters not whether we have loved or hated the original, the portrait is there because its subject possessed qualities which

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could neither be blurred by a crowd nor overlooked and disregarded through insignificance.

Senator CLARKE was a man who could not be overlooked. One might like or dislike him, but it was impossible to disregard him. He had an arresting personality. For my part, I liked him from the first, and as the years passed my feelings changed from liking to affection, and with the affection was mingled much genuine admiration. He was, of course, an able man. His success in life and the offices he held demonstrated his abilities. But there are many men of ability and industry who are not interesting and who lack the character and qualities which command admiration, even if it is accorded with reluctance. Senator CLARKE was interesting. That fact I soon discovered, and I was struck very early in our acquaintance with the alertness of his mind and with his keen sense of humor. His mind worked with really extraordinary rapidity, and when this quickness of comprehension was found in combination with humor it is hardly necessary to add that he was a sympathetic companion. He talked extremely well, and that which was best about his talk was that it was all his own, for, so far as my observation went, he almost never indulged in anecdote, which he shunned, I think, because the long-drawn story bored him, and he was bored, it seemed to me, rather easily. It is no doubt an amiable trait to suffer bores gladly, but the man who does not do so—and Senator CLARKE did not—is pretty certain never to be tiresome himself. Another quality which made him attractive was his intellectual honesty, whether he was dealing with men or events, and he was singularly free, in forming and expressing his opinions, from the prejudices of either locality or environment, which usually mark the village outlook and the parochial mind.

ADDRESS OF MR. LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

With his intellectual honesty went almost necessarily intellectual courage. He never retracted or fell back from his own beliefs or conclusions. His moral courage was on the same plane. I have never seen a man in public life more wholly courageous in all public questions, whether political or otherwise. I do not say this because on several rather conspicuous occasions he voted against his own party. This is not uncommon, and often requires courage, although at times it is due to very different motives and qualities. I have recognized and appreciated his courage when he was against the views I held quite as much as when we were in sympathy. Sometimes it has seemed to me that the position he took was simply perverse, but the courage with which he maintained it was just as clear as in any other case. He never feared to stand alone. Intellectual or political solitude had for him no terrors, although he was by no means a solitary man and liked and depended upon the society of his friends. He had a hatred of base compliance and of timidity, especially moral timidity, and this led him perhaps at times to extremes and to the occasional apparent perversities of judgment of which I have spoken. But however much one might differ from him, it was impossible not to respect him. By force of intelligence and character he came to a high place in the Senate, and no one ever doubted that he was a man of power with whom it was necessary to reckon. His death leaves a gap in our public life not easily filled, and has caused a break in the friendship of many of us which will always be remembered with affectionate sorrow.

I have only attempted to give the merest sketch of Senator CLARKE as he appeared to me. It has, I think, at least this merit, that it is entirely true so far as I saw and knew

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him, and I know that he would have preferred the truth to be spoken. Oliver Cromwell, when Sir Peter Lely proposed to leave out the wart in the portrait, said, "Paint me as I am." This, I am sure, would be Senator CLARKE's wish, and this is what I have tried to do, but I am well aware how imperfect any sketch must be. I have sought only to give an impression of the man and to point out his most salient attributes, but the quality for which Senator CLARKE commands especial commemoration, the one for which he should long be remembered, was his complete courage shown in a time and place and in a mode of life where we are not overburdened or oppressed with that high virtue. He had an intellectual courage which never faltered before the conclusions reached by his reason; a moral courage which never shrank from loyalty to his convictions and his sense of duty; a high personal courage to which the fear of any man or any body of men was not only unknown but impossible. It is thus that I have read the character and the qualities, both intellectual and moral, of the friend whose death I so deeply and sincerely mourn.

ADDRESS OF MR. BRYAN, OF FLORIDA

Mr. PRESIDENT: We remember many of our public men only because they were successful in politics. We think of the office, and then, by the association of ideas, figure out who held it at a given time.

Senator CLARKE's life was crowded full of political honors. Yet I always think of him first, and of his office afterwards, if at all.

His fame will rest not upon the fact that he was governor and United States Senator, but upon his individuality.

He was well equipped for public life. He had ability; he was industrious; he hated shams; he was mentally honest; he had convictions and the courage thereof.

He was not provincial, but, on the contrary, comprehended the rights and interests of the whole country, as to which he was remarkably well informed. Moreover, he loved his country and its institutions.

If Arkansas honored him, he was an honor to Arkansas. If the Senate honored him, he was an honor to the Senate.

In his death Arkansas has lost a distinguished Senator, the Senate has lost one of its leading Members, and the country has lost a real statesman.

ADDRESS OF MR. HARDWICK, OF GEORGIA

MR. PRESIDENT: Those who knew Senator CLARKE best admired him most, respected him most, and loved him best.

Impetuous as Rupert, he was just as dashing, just as brave. The Harry Hotspur of senatorial debate, he was always a Chesterfield in his manners and in his bearing. Possessing a superb mental equipment, he had also that far more rare and precious gift of the gods—an unflinching courage, both physical and moral, that does not leave a man even in the dark hour that immediately precedes the dawn, that makes him a marked man among his fellows, a leader in Israel.

It is not my purpose to speak at length or with detail of Senator CLARKE's long and distinguished service in this body. Others who have served with him longer may do so more appropriately. If, however, I may be permitted to summarize in a word the one predominant feature of that service, the crowning virtue of his great public career, I should unhesitatingly say it was "independence"—independence of thought and action, of mind and character. His figure stood out in splendid and startling relief from the drab background of smooth complacency, of easy and frequent surrender of principle and conviction that is so characteristic of modern polities and of modern politicians, the greatest and the boldest and the truest and bravest American Senator of recent times, man of his own mind, captain of his own soul, acknowledging no master save the God he worshiped and the great constituency whose commission he held.

ADDRESS OF MR. HARDWICK, OF GEORGIA

To my mind he was, first, last, and always, the splendid prototype of the Roman senator in those early days when the glory of the seven-hilled city first began to fill the world, and when chiefest among those glories was the spotless integrity, the profound wisdom, and the lofty patriotism of its senate.

Senators, we both miss and mourn our erstwhile associate, our late colleague. His dauntless soul has lifted at last the veil that enshrouds immortality, and the secrets of the beyond are bared to his inquiring mind. No tremor of fear ever challenged his manhood in life, and we may be assured that he went unafraid to meet his Maker and his Judge. His great public services have become a part of the heritage of his countrymen, and the memory of his glorious courage remains with us to cheer us and to inspire us when at times the path grows thorny and the feet begin to falter.

May God assoil his soul and may we meet him again in that brighter and fairer land where hypocrisy and cowardice are not and where only the true and the pure in heart keep the altar fires alight.

Senators, I loved him, I miss him, I mourn him.

ADDRESS OF MR. GALLINGER, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

Mr. PRESIDENT: A great lawyer, an eloquent advocate, a fearless defender of his principles, a man of strong likes and dislikes, JAMES P. CLARKE belonged to a class of public men who have contributed largely to the advancement of the things that most vitally concern the dignity and welfare of our country. Others will tell of his remarkable achievements as a citizen of Arkansas. It is sufficient for me to say a few simple words as to my knowledge of the man as a member of this body.

Senator CLARKE entered the Senate March 9, 1903, and died October 1, 1916, shortly after he had been elected to a third term. As a Senator he was noted for his integrity of character, fearlessness in debate, and independence on the great public questions of the day. Elevated to the high office of President pro tempore of the Senate, he discharged the duties of that position with absolute impartiality. No member of the minority had any reason to fear that he would not be protected in every right that belonged to him or that the rules of the body would not be administered in a most scrupulous manner.

Impatient in speech and militant in manner, Senator CLARKE took a high rank as a debater, demonstrating his great knowledge of the traditions of the Senate and of the fundamental principles of both national and international law.

Senator CLARKE, in common with other Members of the Senate who have been here a long time, was a firm believer in free and unlimited debate, and vigorously op-

ADDRESS OF MR. GALLINGER, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

posed all attempts at cloture, no matter what form they might take. "This is the only tribunal on earth," said he at one time, "where there is unlimited debate, and there is no question of relevancy here except what is designated in the rules."

On another occasion the advocates of cloture attempted to take a long step in the accomplishment of their ends by demanding that a Senator must confine his remarks to the question before the Senate. Senator CLARKE was quick to voice his objection to such a course, declaring that if the rule were applied that a Senator must confine his remarks to the proposition which the Senate had before it "it would depopulate the Senate and absolutely doom some of us to eternal silence, if we had to talk directly to questions that are pending." He believed that Senators should be allowed to follow their own methods of debate, and not be required to speak with the knowledge that they might be interrupted at any time by another Senator in whose opinion their remarks were not relevant to the subject under discussion.

As President pro tempore Senator CLARKE was confronted with many situations which would have seriously embarrassed a weaker man, but he met them all with courage, and inexorably applied to each case the rules of the Senate as he interpreted them. He was an exponent of the theory that Senators present but not voting should be counted if it was necessary to establish the fact that a quorum was present. He many times, while in the chair, put that principle into effect, and unhesitatingly announced the presence of a quorum even though it had not been shown by the vote.

Senator CLARKE was a close student of public affairs, particularly those involving legal questions. He spent many hours in the Library of the Senate examining the reports of the Federal courts and the records of previous

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Congresses for material on which to base his instructive addresses to the Senate, which always commanded the close attention of his colleagues. His death left a gap in the Senate that it is difficult to fill, and he will be missed more and more by those of us who knew the man and appreciated his splendid qualities of heart and mind.

ADDRESS OF MR. SAULSBURY, OF DELAWARE

Mr. PRESIDENT: Thirty-five years elapsed between the time I first knew JAMES P. CLARKE as a law student at the University of Virginia and the time we renewed our acquaintance in the Senate of the United States. CLARKE was a young man of 24 and I was a boy of 16 when we first became acquainted. He was recognized then at the university as a strong, able, self-willed, determined man. I was a young boy in the academic department, and naturally I felt it a privilege to be acquainted with him and have him take some interest in my welfare. The boys at the university predicted that CLARKE's ability would carry him far, and they were not in error.

Those of us who have had strenuous experience in the political field know that a man who serves in his State house of representatives, thence goes into the State senate, becomes attorney general of his State, is chosen by his people as their governor, and then elected to the United States Senate for three terms not only has great ability, determination, and all qualities that go to make up leadership, but that he has impressed his work and attainments thoroughly upon those who have the opportunity to know him best—the people back home.

It is doubtless a great satisfaction to a man of Senator CLARKE's preeminent ability to have that ability recognized in the wider field of national polities, but when your constituents time and again have shown their high appreciation, as the people of Arkansas did in the case of Senator CLARKE, one can have the double satisfaction of knowing that back home, where men are weighed in different scales, the constant support and appreciation shown by

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them leaves no real terrors for a self-reliant, conscientious representative of the people when, perchance, defeat may come to him, and he returns to pass the remainder of his life among them. Kipling has expressed this thought in a way which seems to me as striking as any I have heard:

Old Nineveh town has nothing to give
For the place where a man's own folks still live;
He might have been that or he may be this,
But they love him and hate him for what he is.

I have no doubt from my own knowledge of Senator CLARKE that he had his full share of loves and hates, but I have never known a man who was more absolutely self-reliant, willing to meet any contest forced upon him or which he forced upon his antagonists, and, personally, I can not conceive that in any of the stormy episodes of his career he ever gave or asked quarter. Dispositions differ, so that traits like these may seem admirable or not, but no one fails to admire the man of great ability and courage grappling with whatever questions may be presented, entering fearlessly into whatever conditions he may have to undergo, and throughout it all exhibiting, as Senator CLARKE did, an independence of thought, character, and action which many would be proud to emulate.

Some time before his last reelection Senator CLARKE said to me that he had never been satisfied fully with his career in the Senate, and that he hoped, if reelected, he would be able to devote himself to the larger questions of statesmanship which had been too much in his life interfered with by the urgent claims of practical politics. He said to me that he intended during the balance of his political career to take a more active part in consideration of questions of wide importance than he had been able to do during his prior terms, and I attribute to this intention the very prominent part he took in the consideration of the Philippine bill, where his proposal of early

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and certain independence became the storm center of that important measure, around which practically all debate revolved. I approved of Senator CLARKE's conception of the right treatment of this matter, and feel sure that this was one of the larger questions affecting the future welfare of our country to which he had given most careful consideration and, as usual, regarding which he reached the right conclusion.

Senator CLARKE's powers did not show any signs of failure; his services in this body ended probably at the height of his intellectual powers. He had become a national figure, and achieved that position through intellectual ability. Those of us who lived here on terms of friendship with him admired and respected him as one of the great figures in this body. His State honored itself and him in the selection, as one of her Senators, of this man of dominant personality, and those of us who knew him well will long hold him in remembrance, in the highest esteem and regard.

ADDRESS OF MR. BORAH, OF IDAHO

Mr. PRESIDENT: It has been said that republics have a tendency to make moral cowards of public men. It may be so, but if so, the man to whose memory we pay tribute to-day was a splendid exception to the rule. This tendency did not leave its impress in any way upon his labors here. He was one at least who examined all questions upon their merits and followed without anxiety or apology the course pointed out by an untrammeled conscience and a well-trained mind. Firm in his purposes, fearless in the advocacy of his opinions, he belonged to that splendid breed of men who mold rather than follow public opinion—the only true servants of the people, the real defenders of democracy. Neither prestige, precedents, or popular outcry disturbed him in the least when once he had made up his mind as to the justice of a cause or the truth concerning the subject in hand. No man had a keener or more accurate scent for the specious and insincere, none more adept and ruthless in striking the mask of patriotism from the face of selfishness and fraud. That confusion of plan, that sudden change of procedure, that drive forward to-day and retreat to-morrow which ever accompany the course of those who consult expediency rather than truth constituted no part of his public service. He did not belong to that class of modern statesmen whose capacity to discern the drift of popular sentiment has been developed at the expense of the higher and nobler faculty of discerning the sound from the unsound, the temporary from the permanent, or that which satisfies the demands of the day from those great truths which contribute to the permanent happiness and power of a people. His independence was the constant admiration of his colleagues, his moral courage was superb.

ADDRESS OF MR. BORAH, OF IDAHO

We have all often read how at a time when things seemed going against the plan to formulate a constitution and create a government, Washington uttered these words:

It is but too probable that no plan that we can propose will be adopted. Perhaps another terrible conflict is to be sustained. If to please the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God.

Underneath these words it is not difficult to discern that abiding belief that in the final disposition of things the people will measure up to and approve the best plan that the bravest and best intellects of the age can give, and such a belief is the bedrock foundation upon which the higher faith in popular government is built. These words of Washington ought to be written above every legislative hall in our land. Upon any other principle the Republic will ultimately break down. The common mistake which we are all prone to make is in underrating the wisdom and patriotism of the people. They may not always discern in the first instance the wisest and the best, but they never ultimately reject the truth when the truth is pointed out. Those who do not believe that the people are capable of indorsing and approving the wisest laws and sustaining the most efficient institutions which the best minds and bravest hearts can give them do not really catch the true principles of popular government at all. They have been lured into time-serving paths and missed entirely the larger outlines of the great faith. I can pay no higher tribute to our departed colleague than to say that he walked in manly fashion in the light of these principles. He believed that which was wise would ultimately win, and that though not popular to-day a measure founded in reason and justice would be popular to-morrow. He

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was willing at all times to wait for vindication in case it was not at hand, and he did not worry about the lateness of its arrival. He believed in the eternal law of right and wrong and by it tested all other laws. If the majority approved he was gratified. If not he was not dismayed. He knew there was something of the reptile in the man who crawls whether at the bidding of a prince or a president, something of the intellectual slave in the man who surrenders his conscience to the control of others, whether to a king or a multitude. In this body JAMES P. CLARKE represented himself. The vote he cast was his vote, and yet there were among our membership no truer man to popular government, no firmer advocate of the just and the humane than this self-reliant and upright Senator.

Mr. President, a few years ago one of the most attractive men of the South came up into a Northern State and told us of a "new South." No one can forget the thrill of joy which the rich tones of Grady's voice sent to every loyal heart in the land. Old chords were touched by a wizard hand and gave up again the strains of nationality. The music of the Union of the old days when, as Webster tells us, Massachusetts and South Carolina stood about the administration of Washington, drowned for years by the din of civil conflict, rang strong and true again all the way from the plantations of the South to the miner's cabin on the slopes of the western mountains. The brilliant Georgian sounded a note sincere and true. I have no doubt that here and there sleeping in southern bosoms may be found something of the old prejudice which some untoward act might arouse; I have no doubt there are still those in the North who are unable, honestly unable, to free themselves from the strong feelings engendered by the stress and strain of those terrible days. We neither quarrel with nor criticize those people. But if I mistake not

ADDRESS OF MR. BORAH, OF IDAHO

there is not only a new South but a new North—a North which has finally torn from its heart the old feeling of suspicion and hate and which has finally come forward to the place where Lincoln stood at the close of the war, a North which realizes deeply and profoundly that the South more than any other part of the country must deal with that peculiar problem of which no one can think without a tremor of doubt—a North which no longer boasts of being better prepared to deal with this great problem than those upon whom the greater portion of the burden rests. Senator CLARKE represented this era of rehabilitation, this period of a truly reunited and disenthralled country. He rose easily, naturally, and without ostentation, above locality, above section, and oftentimes above party. His vision and his purposes included his whole country, his patriotism in scope and sympathy was commensurate with the Nation as a whole. He represented the limitations of prejudice and broke away from all restraints which the past would put upon his truly national spirit.

It would prolong these remarks too far to enter upon a discussion of the details of his service here, his exceptional ability as a lawyer, his wide and most accurate information upon all public questions, the dignified and impartial manner in which he presided over this body. I conclude by saying that he was in every sense a great Senator, an honor to the great State which he so faithfully represented, and commensurate in integrity and ability to the responsibility attaching to his position in the highest legislative body in the country. In these crowded tragic days we do not long reflect about the things that are gone by

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nor often hark back to our colleagues who have passed on, but everyone who served with him misses from our midst this strong, resolute, indomitable, historic figure.

THE VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the resolutions offered by the Senator from Arkansas will be considered as unanimously adopted.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE

MONDAY, December 4, 1916.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas and President pro tempore of the Senate.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. WINGO. Mr. Speaker, it is my painful duty to announce the death of the late senior Senator from the State of Arkansas, Mr. JAMES P. CLARKE, which occurred at his home in the city of Little Rock, Ark., since the Congress last met. I shall at some future time ask the House to set aside a day upon which we may pay tribute to his memory. At this time I offer the following resolution, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 376

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the remaining resolution.

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The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the deceased the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly, in accordance with the resolution (at 3 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, December 5, 1916, at 12 o'clock noon.

THURSDAY, February 1, 1917.

Mr. OLDFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, February 18, 1917, be set aside for addresses upon the life and character and public services of the Hon. J. P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Arkansas asks unanimous consent that Sunday, the 18th of February, be set aside for the purpose of delivering speeches on the life and character of the late Senator CLARKE, of Arkansas. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

TUESDAY, February 13, 1917.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints Mr. Jacoway to preside next Sunday at the memorial services on the late Senator CLARKE, of Arkansas.

SUNDAY, February 18, 1917.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Infinite Spirit, Father-Soul, Thy blessing be upon us to fit us for the sacred duty of the hour, a time-honored custom, a precious memorial dear to our hearts. Two great men, public servants, Senators of the United States, have been called from labor to refreshment, from earth to

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heaven. Ours the loss, theirs the gain; ours the sorrow, theirs the joy; ours the hope, theirs the reality; ours the struggle, theirs the victory. May the unbroken continuity of life which has come down to us out of the past, sung by poets, taught by sages, prophets, and seers, re-enforced by the glorious resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, comfort those who knew and admired them and solace those who were bound to them by the ties of love and kinship; that the heart may cease to ache and tears to flow.

Be still, sad heart! and cease repining;
Behind the clouds is the sun still shining;
Thy fate is the common fate of all,
Into each life some rain must fall,
Some days must be dark and dreary.

So teach us to wait with patience till the veil shall be rent asunder and Thy ways be made plain; and we will ascribe all praise to Thee now and evermore. Amen.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the special order.

The Clerk read as follows:

On motion of Mr. Oldfield, by unanimous consent,
Ordered, That Sunday, February 18, 1917, be set apart for addresses upon the life, character, and public services of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

Mr. OLDFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Arkansas offers a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 512

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended, that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his distinguished public

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

career, the House, at the conclusion of the exercises of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The resolution was agreed to.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF MR. OLDFIELD, OF ARKANSAS

Mr. SPEAKER: We have, according to a beautiful custom, met this Sabbath Day for the purpose of paying tribute to a colaborer and friend, the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

Senator CLARKE was born in Yazoo City, Miss., August 18, 1854, and died after a brief illness at his home in Little Rock on October 1, 1916. Senator CLARKE received his literary education in the schools of Mississippi and studied law at the University of Virginia, graduating from that institution in 1878. He moved to Arkansas and began the practice of law in 1879. Hence, at Helena, Ark., in 1879, began a most active and conspicuous career. Almost from the beginning he was appraised one of the foremost lawyers in his part of the State, and, while he divided his time between politics and the law from the beginning, yet he excelled in both fields. There was not a time during his illustrious career that he could not have made many times the salary of any office he held if he had given his whole time to the practice of his profession. And he ran the gamut of politics from the office of representative in the State legislature to three times a Senator of the United States. He was elected to the house of representatives of the State legislature in 1886; a member of the State senate in 1888, serving until 1892. He was elected president of the senate in 1891 and ex officio lieutenant governor; elected attorney general in 1892; declined a renomination, and was elected governor in 1894; he declined a renomination for governor in 1896, preferring to return to his lucrative law practice. He was elected

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to the United States Senate in 1903 and twice reelected to this high office, and was elected President pro tempore of the Senate in the Sixty-third Congress and reelected at the beginning of the Sixty-fourth Congress, which position he held at the time of his death.

Mr. Speaker, I remember quite well the first time I ever saw Senator CLARKE. It was in my home town in 1894, when he was making his first campaign for governor. He was a young man then, only 40 years old. He was certainly a fine specimen of young manhood. Tall, erect, and slender, with perfectly white hair and flashing eyes, he walked up and down the streets calling upon and shaking hands with the voters. Needless to say that he made a favorable impression in that campaign and was elected governor of the State. From that time on I gladly gave him my support in his succeeding campaigns. We were always personal and political friends.

Of course, Senator CLARKE could not keep up his law practice after coming to the Senate, yet he was looked upon as one of the best lawyers of our State and a wise counselor, and during the interims of Congress earned a great many splendid fees as a lawyer. Mr. Speaker, very few men have been developed in our public life who could divide their time between politics and the law and at the same time stand at the head in both fields as Senator CLARKE so successfully did. At the time of his death there can be no question that he stood in the very front rank among the lawyers of his State, and there can be no question that he stood in the front rank as a lawyer among the great lawyers of the United States Senate.

Senator CLARKE was a man of very simple tastes, true and loyal to his friends, and preferred not to have anything whatever to do with his enemies. I have never known a man in public life who could draw a man to him more strongly than Senator CLARKE if he desired to do so. He

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was one of the most distinguished-looking men I have ever known, and his mind sparkled and scintillated like a diamond. Brave, honest, and courageous under any and all circumstances, I never knew him to falter when he had a duty to perform.

Mr. Speaker, Senator CLARKE was no ordinary man; he was a man of great force of character, and brooked no opposition. Neither wealth, power, nor influence could persuade or deter him from the course which he had previously mapped out. He was independent in thought and action, and came nearer doing just as he pleased under any and all circumstances regarding public questions than any man I have ever known in public life. He was always an active man, both in mind and body, and was stricken of a fatal illness during the latter part of September, 1916, while at work in his office. Hence it may be truly said that he died in the harness.

Mr. Speaker, the people of Arkansas whom he represented so long and so ably in the United States Senate appreciated his great services to the State and the Nation, as has been recently attested.

The State legislature, now in session, within the past few days has passed proper resolutions providing for placing his statue in Statuary Hall in this building.

Senator CLARKE, possessing a great intellect and possessed of strong will power and determination, made our Republic greater than it had been before, for it is by the lives of such men that States and Nations grow strong and great. The poet has expressed this thought most beautifully in the following lines:

What builds a nation's pillars high,
What makes it great and strong?
What makes it mighty to defy
The foes that 'round it throng?

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Not gold, but only men can make
A nation great and strong;
Men, who for truth and honor's sake,
Hold still and suffer long.

Brave men who work while others sleep,
Who dare when others sigh;
They build a nation's pillars deep
And lift it to the sky.

ADDRESS OF MR. TAYLOR, OF ARKANSAS

Mr. SPEAKER: The formal eulogy seems most unsatisfying and insufficient where the stroke of death has fallen and where a gap in life has been made. It is with profound misgivings that I undertake to make a fitting tribute to the character, achievements, and genius of the illustrious lawyer and statesman in whose memory these services are held.

Senator JAMES P. CLARKE was born in Mississippi in 1854. In 1879 he came to Arkansas. He seemed to like politics. In 1886 he was elected to the Legislature of Arkansas. In 1888 he was elected to the State senate. In 1891 and in 1892 he was president of the senate.

In 1892 he was the Democratic nominee for attorney general, and was elected. He served as attorney general in 1893 and 1894. In 1894 he was the Democratic nominee for governor, and was elected by a handsome majority. He served Arkansas as governor with distinction and with great credit to the State. In 1902 he was elected to the United States Senate, and again in 1909. He was re-elected in 1914, and was serving his third term at the time of his death. During his last term he served as a member of three of the most important committees, namely, chairman of the Committee on Commerce, also a member of the Foreign Relations and Military Affairs Committees.

I have had a personal acquaintance with Senator CLARKE for about 30 years. Soon after this acquaintance began he became to me a study. Indeed, he was *sui generis*—in fact, unlike anyone else that I ever knew. I had great respect for his abilities. He was proud, and he liked a

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proud, courageous man, although he might have been his political or personal enemy. Respecting himself, he expected to receive the respect of other men; and he was not disappointed. When he made up his mind upon any public question he stood by his convictions; in other words, when he set his hand to the plow he never turned back.

His death was a sad one. While in his law office at Little Rock alone he was stricken. It is said that somehow he reached the phone, called up his home, and asked for his son James to come after him with the car. Apoplexy was the cause of his death, his physicians say.

Senator CLARKE stood among the foremost of the great lawyers of his time. A great lawyer is naturally a successful and constructive statesman. The history of the legislation of the world exemplifies this, and it should occasion no surprise that the Senator's eminence as a lawyer signalized his work as a legislator.

The people of his State looked upon him as one of America's greatest statesmen. In politics those who admired his exceptional abilities and his stern, unswerving character always stood by him with the greatest fidelity. They believed him capable in any position; they admired his lofty bearing and, although now and then finding fault with him, they did not desert him. Strange to say, he had among his supporters those who were not personally attached to him; these voted for and sustained him because they believed him a wise statesman.

Senator CLARKE and myself were always personal friends, but I did not support him in all of his political ambitions. When he defeated Senator Jones I was not his supporter, and he knew it. We talked about it, and on one occasion he said: "Taylor, I know you are for Senator Jones. I know of your friendship and admiration for him, and I do not blame you for not supporting me." The last

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time I ever saw the Senator was in Statuary Hall in this Capitol. There we met accidentally and conversed about certain legislation that was then pending before the Rivers and Harbors Committee. He appeared in fine health, and I believe I never saw him in a more delightful mood.

In my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I may be excused if I try to speak truly touching the life, character, and public services of Senator CLARKE as I understood him and know about him.

Mr. CLARKE became a power in the State when he was elected governor. Prior to this he was attorney general and member of the State legislature, as I have stated—positions which gave him access to the opinions of all the clashing interests of the State and into whose citadels he was welcomed and flattered. Each contending interest looked upon him as a man of lofty and independent convictions, despising cowardice and trimming, yet fully imbued with ambition and desirous of becoming not only a great man but the greatest man of the State. It is said of Cicero that he was so nervously sensitive to the fluctuations of public opinion that he could not decide between Pompey and the aristocracy on the one hand and Cæsar and the new democracy on the other.

This can not be said of Senator CLARKE. He cared nothing for the fluctuations of public opinion as presented in the gossip of newsmongers or placarded by speech on the public rostrum. He desired the good opinions of the public, but refused to bend his convictions to their notions—to the passions of those who might judge without knowledge and condemn without reason. He really wanted a constituency that would stand behind him like a stone wall, and therefore never modified his course so as to follow his backers—they were to follow him, although it was hard for his followers at times to see the wisdom of his leadership.

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In his race for the Senate of the United States he was pitted against one of the best-loved and one of the most powerful men of the State, as well as one of the most powerful Members of the United States Senate. Senator James K. Jones must always be classed as one of the leading great men of Arkansas. To beat such a man in the zenith of his popularity and power indicated that for the time being Senator CLARKE had gained a great popular following, and was on the billows of popular esteem and affection.

It may well be said that Gov. CLARKE at this time was at the height of his fame in Arkansas and just beginning to ascend the heights of national fame at Washington. He was not an orator, but a rapid-fire speaker of the Gatling-gun order. He knew his facts and was a master of arrangement; he studied carefully all the great decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and relied upon them to carry him through the emergencies of debate. Hardly any man on the floor of the Senate had an equal power with him in brushing aside the little things and seizing the great and essential things. He had a logical mind and used it in making friends of those whose minds ran in the same logical groove. Politically he was a Democrat, but at times strained the definition of the word to a near-breaking point. Self-willed in the extreme, he also ran perilously near to harshness in his treatment of his opponents. He seemed to think that he had climbed aloft without the help of certain of his fellows, and that from his high position he could afford to be nonaffable. In the quiet of his office, I am told, he lamented this characteristic of his temperament and attributed it to some physical affliction rather than the lordly bent of mind that, soaring aloft, brooks no contradiction and spurns all advice.

He was a close critic of himself and never favored himself in these moods of self-investigation. He was gen-

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uinely sorry for his want of power properly to consider and relate the little things of life, but no man can have all things at once. Senator CLARKE became a great Senator. It is extremely doubtful, however, if he would have ever become so great had his mind been compelled to connote little things or to give them the value they really deserved. He ignored the claims of extreme politeness and fellowship, and set his mind inflexibly on a higher end—an end which he invariably attained. He was a good reasoner and in this regard was seldom excelled by an adversary. In intensity, fiery earnestness, and rapid-fire delivery he led, and seemingly was the only Senator of whom many of his colleagues appeared genuinely afraid.

He reached the highest empyrean of successful senatorial life, died a leading statesman, and was one of the most brilliant and accomplished politicians of his State. In his senatorial life of 14 years he had a very conspicuous share in shaping the legislation of the Republic. As a public man his career was brilliant, patriotic, and useful, and he died as he had lived, unafraid, uncompromising, stalwart, majestic, and masterful.

ADDRESS OF MR. CARAWAY, OF ARKANSAS

Mr. SPEAKER: The custom of paying tribute to the dead is as old as recorded history. All nations have observed it. In this we but give expression to that longing after life eternal and that hope and that desire for immortality. In these tributes, whether in spoken words or chiseled stone, we express but the hope that beyond the grave is life, and that those we honor here there live again amid fields elysian, and because we hold that hope we pay homage to those who have gone a little while before. On this Sabbath day in this famous Chamber of the House of Representatives, in the city of the Nation, we now pay a national tribute to the memory of the late Senator JAMES P. CLARKE, of Arkansas. When I say we pay a national tribute, I speak advisedly, for in truth Senator CLARKE was a national character. He thought for the Nation and labored for humanity everywhere. In no sense was he sectional or circumscribed by the boundaries of that State which honored itself in honoring him. He planned for a Nation and labored for a Nation as wide as the boundaries over which floats the flag of that Nation. He sought no advantage for his own State that he did not demand for that of every other State and for all our people. His allegiance was to the Nation as a whole. In many respects Senator CLARKE was the most remarkable man who has sat in the Senate of these United States in the lifetime of any now living. Tall and straight in form, direct and clear in speech, he impressed all who knew him or heard him with the honesty of his purpose and courage of his convictions. Neither friend nor foe was left in doubt of his position on any question touching the Nation's welfare. As he sat

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day by day at his desk in the Senate Chamber, his erect figure, white hair, and strong and striking features, and the dignity of his deportment proclaimed him the Senator ideal. Even the casual observer marked him and instantly and instinctively paid him homage. He ruled the Senate as he did all other bodies of men among whom he sat not by the arts of the politician but by the uprightness of his motives and the clearness of intelligence. Almost upon his first entrance into the Senate he became a member of the steering committee of that body, which had much to do with determining what legislation should be considered. When the Democratic Party came into control he was elected President *pro tempore*, and was serving in that station at the time of his death. He was one of the greatest parliamentarians in the Senate, and he impressed all with his fairness and profound knowledge of the rules governing that body. He knew neither friend nor foe, section nor party, as presiding officer.

He scorned to win favor or preferment by fawning or by appealing to base and mean sentiments.

Of his life and achievements I shall speak but briefly. I shall leave those for defter hands and more gifted tongues, for those who have known him longer and known him better. The barest sketch must suffice for my purpose.

JAMES P. CLARKE was born in Yazoo City, Miss., in 1854. His parents were poor, but of character and standing. He received a liberal education and took his professional training, that of the law, at the University of Virginia, where he graduated with honor. Immediately after his graduation he located at Helena, Ark., where he literally sprang into honorable place and position. Soon after he located here he married the charming daughter of an old and distinguished family. He served in both branches of the State legislature and rose to the position of presid-

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ing officer in the senate. Thence he was elected attorney general of the State, and from that office became governor. In all these positions he shed honor on the citizenship of the State and served well their best interests.

In his first race for the United States Senate he was defeated, but his defeat left no scars, and in 1902, in a State-wide preferential primary, he was chosen, succeeding that great and much-beloved Senator, James K. Jones. At the expiration of his first term in the Senate he was reelected without opposition, and was again elected for a third term, of which he had served a little less than two years when the summons came.

From the day he first took his seat as a Senator until his task was done his was the dominating influence in that august body. No legislation of national importance that did not take shape and form from his masterful touch, whether it were tracing the course for the uniting of the turbulent Atlantic to the sun-kissed Pacific by the Panama Canal, or the building of a constitution and a code for the government and civilization of the peoples of the far-away Philippine Islands, his was the fecund brain in which was builded the finished plan. For more than half a century the American people demanded, but demanded in vain, the right to elect their Senators by direct vote of the people. With a stroke of the pen, as it were, he made that an accomplished fact. Wherever men strove for human rights, and human needs cried out for leadership and help, wise men turned to him and turned not in vain. The merest recital of his achievements would require more time than is allotted to me, and I need not enumerate them here; they are writ large in the annals of his country's fame.

Of him personally I shall speak even more briefly.

To a friend he always bent a listening ear; to a foe he presented an unyielding front. Strong and just men loved

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him and followed him; weak and corrupt ones feared and shunned him. About him ever swirled the turmoil of battle. He feared neither criticism nor defeat; dishonor and cowardice he never knew. Whenever his country needed a champion it found one in him, and with him as champion the weak became strong and the hopeless took heart again.

Death came to him as he would have wished it should come, while yet his faculties were undimmed, but after his aspirations had been achieved and his ambitions had been gratified. It came not in lingering pain nor yet so suddenly that farewells were left unsaid. In his own home, with hands clasped in hands of children and soothed by the ministrations of his noble wife, he fell asleep—

Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch about him and lies down to pleasant dreams.

Beyond love or hate, praise or blame, in the city that he loved, literally buried beneath a mass of fragrant flowers laid above him by loving hands, we left him to slumber until—

Time shall be no more, and the sea shall give up its dead.

But, oh—

How many a loving one's blessing went
With thee beneath the low green tent
Whose curtain never outward swings.

Nothing we may say here to-day can enhance his fame. His character and his deeds are his fairest epitaph. We seek not in these exercises to add to his virtues, but in praising them to renew our own.

Like a garland of fair flowers we lay a nation's tribute this day upon his tomb. His life is ended, his career finished, but his memory is enshrined in his public labors and in the hearts of his friends.

ADDRESS OF MR. WINGO, OF ARKANSAS

Mr. SPEAKER: In the death of Senator CLARKE our State has not only lost a very distinguished citizen, but the United States Senate has lost one of its most powerful Members and this country has lost a man who, I venture to assert, by his thought, his force, and his actions touched and shaped its destiny with an influence equal to that of any man who lived in his day and generation. It has been very well said that whether you liked or disliked Senator CLARKE, he compelled both your respect and your attention. His friends relied upon his ability and courage, his enemies respected and feared both.

To my mind the most striking thing about Senator CLARKE was his hatred of all pretense and sham. If there ever was a man in public life who absolutely had the courage of his convictions, who, having conscientiously decided upon a course, then became indifferent to what the public or his critics might say of him, it was Senator CLARKE. I say he had the courage to stand alone, and he did that at times, Mr. Speaker, when it seemed almost treason to those who are wont to abjectly kneel at the feet of power; but his actions were the result of the compelling force of his convictions and of his loyalty to his sense of duty and what he thought he must do in order to retain his self-respect. I think it is unfortunate for the country that there are not more men of that character and of that courage in both ends of this Capitol. He was intellectually honest, too, Mr. Speaker. JAMES P. CLARKE never undertook to deceive himself. He never undertook by the devious ways of intellectual gymnastics to make something appear right which intuitively and with that quick decisiveness of his mind he knew was wrong.

He was one of those men who were exasperated by the little details of public life upon which modern politics and

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modern customs in American polities have forced their representatives in both bodies to devote a good deal of their time and energies, instead of giving their time, their thought, their study, and their patriotic efforts to the bigger and better things for which Senators and Representatives are supposed to be sent to this Capitol.

I repeat he not only had the courage of his convictions, but he was willing to stand alone, and that is something that few men are willing to do. I once heard it said that JAMES P. CLARKE would rather face a howling mob and chant the requiem of defeat and know that he was right, or believe that he was right, than to hear the plaudits of the multitude and yet have the sickening sense in his heart that he was undeserving of the misguided approval of his fellows. And that was typical of the conception that most men had of Senator CLARKE who came in close touch with him.

With Senator CLARKE, as with all great men, as time goes on we will learn to appreciate more his high character and splendid qualities. Unfortunately for him, and I think unfortunately for the country, his seeming indifference to public approval, his sometimes seeming rudeness to the representatives of the press, was a regrettable thing, which prevented the American people from learning more of his high character and splendid abilities, which they would have learned if he had pursued the course that it is customary for most men in public life to pursue, and that is to court the greatest amount of publicity and the greatest amount of friendly utterances on the part of the representatives of the press in the Capital of the Nation. But he did not do that. He went his way, and more nearly than any other public man who has ever lived in this Capital, he made you think of these lines:

It matters not how straight the gate
How marked with punishment the scroll;
I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul.

ADDRESS OF MR. TILLMAN, OF ARKANSAS

Mr. SPEAKER: From the moment I first saw him in the parlor of the old Capitol Hotel in Little Rock, in January, 1889, to the hour of his death, I was perhaps as close to Senator CLARKE as were any of his contemporaries in the public life of the State. In the September election of 1888 we had been elected to membership in the State senate, he from Phillips, I from Washington County. He was a candidate for president of the senate, and had called to solicit my support. I was a fledgling member, barely old enough to satisfy the statutory requirements of the position as to age; he was several years my senior and already prematurely gray, caused by a fever antedating by some years the meeting to which I refer. I shall never forget my first impression of this remarkable man. He had the look of an eagle, a magnetic presence, and being young and impressionable I became at once his ardent admirer, friend, and supporter. From the hour of our first conversation, and throughout the years following, we were personal and political friends, actively cooperating in numerous public enterprises and exchanging letters and visits at frequent intervals. He failed of election to the presidency in 1889, but at the succeeding session two years thereafter he was elected, and from that time forward to him political preferment locally and nationally was sure and rapid.

Like most great men he was possessed of marked eccentricities. His temper at times was none of the best, and his control of the same not always exceptionally good. He had other peculiarities as well. One day a close friend of some years' standing called him by his given

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name. His friend received a sharp rebuke for this indiscretion and never repeated the offense. Senator CLARKE stated to him that he desired his friends, no matter how intimate, to call him CLARKE. He cared nothing for titles and preferred to be CLARKE of Arkansas, rather than general, governor, Senator, or Mr. President pro tempore of the United States Senate. In no event did he wish to be called James. I imagine that even Mark Antony was not permitted to address the first Cæsar as Julius nor did Atticus call Cicero, Marcus Tullius.

The world is made of little men, but Senator CLARKE was not of this type. If a man passed him on the street he would turn to look at him again. His figure was striking, his carriage majestic, his swinging stride and distinguished bearing at once impressed acquaintances or strangers with the knowledge that he was a real man. Imperious? Yes. Impatient of opposition? Certainly. Dominant? Nature made him so. With all that, at least before advancing years and ill health had seriously impaired his vital forces, he was as sweet as summer to his friends and gracefully polite to his enemies.

He once characterized himself as a good hater, and he was. With him there was no shadow land, no twilight zone, between the people he hated and those he loved. Somewhat as did Pizarro, the Spanish gold hunter, the Senator drew a line on the sand, and bade his friends get on his side of the mark and his enemies on the other. And there he desired them to abide.

No other man was just as he was.

Like every virile character he was unique.

He was as distinct as a snow-crowned mountain peak.

That he might bind a voter to him he never practiced the petty but effective art of insisting upon a relationship, real or possible, to John Smith or to John Smith's wife. He never mentioned his near or remote partiality to

any church to tickle the ear of the zealous religionist. He never paraded his lodge membership nor displayed its emblem to make friends more active or to induce his enemies to become less active.

He was deaf to the jingle of tainted money.

He flattered no man.

He was never an opportunist.

He loved the din of battle.

He fought his antagonist face to face, "lance to lance and horse to horse."

Like a white-crested eagle, he scorned prey that had not fallen to his beak and talon.

His restless soul courted combat and disdained a lower flight. Without consulting a single friend or advising with political associates, he determined to go to the United States Senate. He did not lay in wait for an easy mark. He sought out the strongest antagonist he could find.

In the tournament at Ashby Sir Walter Scott, in his incomparable style, causes the Disinherited Knight to ride into the lists. The rule governing the tournament provided that if any knight proposed a conflict he might, if he pleased, select his antagonist by touching his shield with the sharp end of his lance, provided he desired an actual battle; if he wished only a trial of skill, to touch his opponent's shield with the reverse end of his lance. As Ivanhoe entered he was advised to touch Ralph D. Vipont's shield, to touch the Hospitaler's shield—"he has the least sure seat; he is your cheapest bargain." But the young knight struck with the sharp end of his spear the shield of Bois-Guilbert, the strongest of the Norman knights, and thus did Senator CLARKE in the political lists. Not waiting for a vacaney, by death or resignation, without the backing of wealthy or influential friends, with but a few years of residence in the State, he hurled his challenging spear straight at the shield of Senator James

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K. Jones, the strongest and most popular man in the State, the leader of his party in the Nation, a mental and physical giant, and defeated him in a second effort with comparative ease. Since then he has ranked with the great men of the Nation, and was twice elected President pro tempore of the United States Senate.

Senator CLARKE was a man of remarkable mental energy. He was a master of terse, lucid expression. Each of his sentences rang like a new-made coin of gold. His English was pure and undefiled. No man ever had difficulty in determining his position upon any question, either by the Senator's action or language. In debate his mental blows were delivered with the strength that King Richard exhibited when he wielded his two-handed broadsword, and with the finesse and dexterity displayed by Saladin when he severed the delicate veil with his keen scimitar.

He left no senatorial survivor who can with propriety and justice assume to be his superior. Few equaled him in courage, in probity, in mentality.

Last night I stood in Statuary Hall on the spot where John Quincy Adams fell in a dying state on February 21, 1848. From that point of vantage I looked around upon the circle of statues in this, the Nation's great Valhalla of distinguished dead, and noted among the number brave Sam Houston, of Texas, robed in buckskin. There stood the portly figure of Thomas Benton, of Missouri; yonder the marble form of the scholarly Ingalls, of Kansas. There, within a few feet, stood Washington and Lee, of Virginia. Not far to my right, facing west, was the priestly Marquette, of Wisconsin; and near him the handsome Senator Kenna, of West Virginia; and I felt that I knew that when our people make provision here for the stately statue of JAMES P. CLARKE, of Arkansas, every citizen of our great Commonwealth will hold up his head, supremely proud of him, when looking upon our

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distinguished fellow citizen in bronze or marble, the acknowledged peer of any of his silent associates.

I last saw him in the Union Station at St. Louis, on the 9th of September, 1916, as we were going home from the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress. He passed out of the station with the same vigorous step that ever characterized his walk, never looking better, never happier. He was stricken within a month thereafter in his law office at Little Rock at work among his books. I know that he received the fatal shock with fortitude, and as he hoped to receive it, with his armor on his back, fighting the grim battle of life. How much better it is to die before the mind becomes eclipsed, the reason beclouded, and the limbs dead and useless. I have long since decided that it is desirable to hurriedly and quietly pass away like this.

Some time at eve, when the tide is low,
I shall slip my mooring and sail away,
With no response to a friendly hail
Of kindred craft in a busy bay.
In the silent hush of the twilight pale,
When the night stoops down to embrace the day
And voices call in the waters' flow—
Some time at eve, when the tide is low,
I shall slip my mooring and sail away,
Through purple shadows that darkly trail,
O'er the ebbing tide of the unknown sea.
I shall fare me away with a dip of sail,
And a ripple of waters to tell the tale,
Of a lonely voyage sailing away
To mystic isles where at anchor lay
The craft of those who have gone before,
O'er the unknown sea, to the unknown shore.
A few who have watched me sail away
Will miss my craft from the busy bay;
Some friendly barks that were anchored near,
Some loving souls that my heart held dear,
In silent sorrow will drop a tear;
But I shall have peacefully furled my sail
In mooring sheltered from storm and gale,
And greeted the friends who have gone before,
O'er the unknown sea to the unknown shore.

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Senator CLARKE's life was a successful one. He left a fair estate and lived to round out an enviable and a brilliant career. He died in the season of harvest—in the rich, golden autumn, the fairest time of all the year, when the frost deepens the blush on the apple and the snowy cotton turns its white, pure face to the chaste kisses of the southern sun; when the meadows are rich with goldenrod; during the season when God touches with His artist finger the foliage of our glorious forests and paints the leaves as brown as the hazelnut's flinty coat, as yellow as God's noblest metal, and as red as the blood of a Saxon king.

Senator CLARKE's friends have every reason to believe that all is well with his gallant spirit. His public and private life was, we know, impeccable.

Faith builds a bridge across the gulf of death
To break the shoke blind nature can not shun.

It can be said of him in truth that—

He walked the rugged road of right,
And never for a moment wandered from the way,
To loiter in alluring shade,
Or drink the Bacchanalian draught,
Or pluck the idle flowers that fringe
The banks wherein temptations wooing tide
Doth ever surge and flow.

A long good night to Senator CLARKE.

ADDRESS OF MR. GOODWIN, OF ARKANSAS

MR. SPEAKER: The death of Senator CLARKE removed from the Senate one of the most striking figures in American public life. Courageous, quick in apprehension, direct, at all times forceful, possessing a keen, analytical mind, discriminating to a rare degree and with an aptitude for the solution of complex political questions, he easily rose to first rank and then to leadership among the trained veterans in the upper branch of the Federal Legislature.

No one can adequately review in brief compass the varied activities and accomplishments of Senator CLARKE; for, indeed, his life was one of strenuous devotion to certain concepts of duty, and once his mind was fixed as to his duty he was immovable. It has been said by those unacquainted with Senator CLARKE that party ties and obligations hung loosely on his shoulders. That he manifested a rare independence along party lines in their common acception his best friend would not gainsay; but an analysis of that independence will disclose that his breaking away from party ties was largely based upon constitutional grounds or upon those matters that pertained to the welfare of the Nation. Hailing from a State where party regularity has been a condition precedent to political success, it took rare courage to be independent of party action or the decrees of party caucus.

I have often thought that Senator CLARKE did himself a great injustice in not participating oftener in the discussion of the public questions upon the floor of the Senate. For, indeed, everything he touched he illumined by his mental alertness and adorned with a grace and an unaffected wealth of rare and limpid English. Few men have entered public life better equipped for public service than Senator CLARKE. Gifted by nature as few men are; pos-

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sessed of a prescience that enabled him to read the minds of men and to almost divine the oncoming of the times; second to no man as a lawyer, he stood high as a statesman of first rank, lending always dignity to the Senate and honor to the Commonwealth he represented. His was a stupendous figure. He died, no doubt, as he had wished—at the zenith of a career distinguished for public service.

With all of his varied accomplishments Senator CLARKE doubtless was greatest as a lawyer. I doubt, indeed, if he had a superior at the American bar. It is true his life was devoted largely to statecraft, yet during all of his political career he never abandoned his chosen field of endeavor, but always kept abreast with the evolution of the law and the decisions of the courts. Few men possessed the rare discriminating judgment that characterized Senator CLARKE as to the interpretation and the construction of the law or its application to government. A great part of our law—the fundamentals—is inherited from the Roman law, which was transplanted to English soil. At first, of course, there was no general code of law; but certain great principles having been enunciated, these were finally crystallized into maxims, and these maxims—the datum posts, signboards, or finger pointers to certain great principles—were adopted, and around these maxims the Roman law gravitated and evolved; and no man can be a great lawyer unless he thoroughly understands and appreciates these datum posts of the law, their justness, and the reason why these maxims have been woven into the fabric of the law. In other words, Mr. Speaker, law in its final analysis is not merely a philosophy but a science, and few men understood better the science, the reason for the great elementary underlying principles of the law, than did the late Senator CLARKE. And no man can be a statesman, no man can be a lawmaker in the true sense of that term, unless he has an understanding of these great principles of society and their application to the pattern of

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good government. For, after all, governments are instituted among men not for the sole purpose of manufacturing the machinery to govern men, but to equalize the burdens of the government; to fashion and to apply justice to all alike, to restrain the strong from overpowering the weak, and to lift the feet of the struggling masses and to place them upon the great tablelands of justice and equity. The crime of all the ages is the history of inequality among men, the favors granted to the few and denied to the many, the inequality of burden borne by the toilers, who by their labor create the wealth of the world but have little to show for their handiwork.

Let me say, Mr. Speaker, that I believe Senator CLARKE was misunderstood by many of his friends and practically by all of his enemies; and he had enemies, as every public man must have who fearlessly discharges his duties and will not become the tool and slave of those who would bend his will. It has been said that he was cold and cared nothing for the masses, that he was an aristocrat, but those who were close to him know that he had a heart for the right, that he was too lofty, too imperious, too independent to play the demagogue, that he had a hot fervor and a passion for the right, as God gave him the power to see the right, but in his imperious pride he refused to display the heat that warmed his soul. He was devoted to duty, and was an interpreter of the times and of the selfish designs of men, and he never failed to express himself in the plainest and the most emphatic terms in giving expression to his understanding of these elements of selfishness. No, Mr. Speaker, the world will never understand certain types of great men and no man can be great unless he is good, and all good men possess some elements of greatness. There are those in public life who strive, who toil, who have a vision, and above all possess a passion for the right and their loyalty to the people can not be honestly questioned; but their loyalty is challenged by those who

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would profit thereby, and for these Senator CLARKE had no patience. I know that he had compassion for the poor, for the little man, for the struggling masses, for the man with "slanting brow," who, having been made in the image of his Creator, is destined to serve as a slave at the treadmill of life, while hunger gnaws at the heartstrings of his wife and little children, who shiver in cold while the cotton fields around them are white with the labor of their hands. And the crime of civilization, Mr. Speaker, is for these unfortunates, these burden bearers, to be forever denied the privilege of even a vision of happiness. On more than one occasion Senator CLARKE talked most feelingly about the pitiful condition of all such unfortunates. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, I believe he felt like America's greatest poet, Edwin Markham, feels to-day in that most telling and true picture of the toilers entitled "The Man Under the Stone," which is as follows:

THE MAN UNDER THE STONE

When I see a workingman with mouths to feed,
Up, day after day, in the dark before the dawn,
And coming home, night after night, through the dusk,
Swinging forward like some fierce silent animal,
I see a man doomed to roll a huge stone up an endless steep.
He strains it onward inch by stubborn inch,
Crouched always in the shadow of the rock. . . .
See where he crouches, twisted, cramped, misshapen!
He lifts for their life ;
The veins knot and darken—
Blood surges into his face. . . .
Now he loses—now he wins—
Now he loses—loses—(God of my soul!)
He digs his feet into the earth—
There's a moment of terrified effort. . . .
Will the huge stone break his hold,
And crush him as it plunges to the gulf?
The silent struggle goes on and on,
Like two contending in a dream.

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Senator CLARKE's last great fight was made in behalf of the people of the Philippines when he sought to give them independence within four years, and no American name to-day in the far-off Philippines is so sacred as the name of Senator CLARKE. He was looked upon as their political savior and as their best American friend, and I pray that the seed sown by him will ripen into a full harvest, and that the 10,000,000 Filipinos whom we hold in subjection, contrary to the spirit of American liberty and American institutions, will be granted their full stature of liberty within the next few years.

The legislature of our State at its present session most appropriately voted to have the statue of Senator CLARKE placed in yonder Statuary Hall with other brilliant American compatriots, and, if the sculptor chisels the late Senator as he looked in life, thousands of spectators who annually visit this Hall who never saw Senator CLARKE will be attracted by his noble figure, though made of bronze or chiseled in stone. For, indeed, Mr. Speaker, as you know and as we all know, there was no figure among all the great Senators who served with Senator CLARKE that equaled him in commanding, physical appearance, and I imagine that he typified the imperious bearing of a mighty and noble Roman senator—rugged, bold, courageous, outspoken, impatient, nervous and restless over those things which challenged the onward march of the true spirit of justice as interpreted by him. He marshaled all the brilliant forces of his thought, to the end that equity might obtain in the councils of his Nation, fighting always for that conception of duty which he thought should prevail. This, indeed, Mr. Speaker, is the rock from which he was hewn, the pit from which he was digged.

A great oak has fallen in the forest of big men, and we shall not soon look upon his like again. He had his faults, and they were many and sometimes, I thought, most griev-

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ous, but who does not possess a multitude of faults? He likewise had his virtues, and these towered above his faults, his shortcomings, and since his death the universal comment made by Members of the House, as well as Members of the Senate, is that the late Senator CLARKE was one of the big Americans of his day; and numbers have told me that he was the greatest Senator they have ever known. The historian will write his name high on the scroll of American honor, while his deeds may be found among the archives of his country's history.

ADDRESS OF MR. JACOWAY, OF ARKANSAS

Mr. SPEAKER: On the first day of October last the message was flashed from one extreme of this country to the other and to the nations of the world that a great and good man had fallen. Senator JAMES P. CLARKE, of Arkansas, lay dead at his home. A citizen most useful, respected, and beloved had laid down the burdens that were his. He had passed from scenes that were transitory and mortal to the realm of those activities that are immortal.

A devoted family was bereft of him who was its head and who to them was a trinity. A sorrow as black as a starless night gathered around and about them and a load as heavy as a huge stone had rolled itself upon their hearts when they realized the awful tragedy that a devoted husband and father had taken his leave for the last time and bidden them all a final adieu. A host of loyal and devoted admirers of Mr. CLARKE received the news of his passing with a grief unfeigned. To them realization came that the State and Nation had sustained a great and continuing loss and that a friend in all the term implies had answered the last call, but who did so with a heart unafraid, a stoicism unequaled, and an intrepid soul unshaken by fear had bowed to and obeyed the mandates of nature's final decree in equity. When family and friends were brought face to face with the fact that in the life of one they loved the last chapter had been written and the book closed, an agonizing catastrophe threw its shadow across their pathways, and "sorrow rolled like a tempest through their souls."

SENATOR CLARKE'S EARLY CAREER

Mr. Speaker, time forbids the recital of all the powerful factors that went into the making of this man's life. While in most respects it was not different from other

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men's, yet when studied as a whole, and viewed in its entirety, there is found running through the warp and woof of his character those brilliant and golden threads of genius positive and indisputable—the exception that tests the general rule. The compelling force of Senator CLARKE's life, like all men of overpowering ability, wrung from the lips of friend and foe alike that tribute that was his and compelled unstinted words of praise of a life that, while erratic in many instances and not regular and commonplace in its orbit, or in those elements it repelled and attracted, yet was most commonplace in fundamentals, for his was a life builded upon the rock, and his characteristics of heart and brain were worked out upon those plans and specifications that went into the making of a man that is true in the sight of his fellows. Senator CLARKE was honest; he was courageous—both morally and physically—and but few men who have sat in the Senate of the United States for the past half century were as capable and efficient as was he. He was one of Arkansas's greatest contributions to the world, having for its object its betterment and its uplift. In no sense of the word can it be said of Senator CLARKE that he was a demagogue. The average political art and artifices of the politician were an absolute stranger to him. To them he had never been introduced, and had he been he would not have stooped to use them to gain a given end.

Since the Civil War no southern man has been quite so honored as was he. He was graduated at the University of Virginia. He was a native of the State of Mississippi, which he loved to the day of his death, and on many occasions delighted to make affectionate reference to the State of his birth. In 1879 he moved to the State of Arkansas, which period marked the genesis of a brilliant train of political and legal successes. From that day to the day of his death the State of his adoption delighted to do him

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honor. He served two years in the State legislature, only to be followed by a term of four years in the State senate, of which body he became president pro tempore and ex officio lieutenant governor. At the expiration of his State senatorial term he was chosen attorney general, and two years later he was elected governor. In 1902 he was elected United States Senator, thus realizing that ambition which, as said by him, had been his dream from early boyhood. In his second race for the United States Senate he defeated one of the noblest and ablest men Arkansas ever sent to the Halls of National Legislation, Senator James K. Jones. In all his public life no scandal was ever associated with Senator CLARKE'S name and his private life was as clean and pure as a star.

AS UNITED STATES SENATOR .

As Senator of the United States he looked the part and he acted the part. By visitors in the gallery of the Senate or upon the streets Senator CLARKE was pointed out as a celebrity. It may be said of him that he was not a Senator whose magnificent equipment of heart and mind were used solely for the advancement of the State which had so greatly honored him, but he had a sincere interest in the affairs of the whole Nation. He had a transcending ability for affairs of state which served him well and which made him a master in the discharge of his arduous duties as United States Senator. When he thought he was right he never surrendered his position. He was peculiarly possessed of that power to think big things and do big things and which gave an unlimited sway to his forceful, powerful, and dexterous qualities in the forum of the United States Senate, an opportunity which he craved and which early in his senatorial career marked him as a Member of the greatest lawmaking body the world ever saw, with no superiors and few equals. As a member of

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the Judiciary Committee and by virtue of sheer ability he was a commanding, compelling, and respected figure. Especially in questions of constitutional law his advice was eagerly sought and his counsel prevailed. In these capacities he never failed to leave his impress for good upon legislation. As chairman of the great Committee on Commerce he discharged the duties of this position with signal credit to himself and lasting benefit to the country. As presiding officer of the Senate his rulings were fair, and in this capacity his knowledge of parliamentary law and his erudition in general were a marvel. Both sides of this historic Chamber gave him credit for absolute fairness. He was also a member of the Committee on Military Affairs and Foreign Affairs and other lesser committees. To these committees he carried the same power for good and the same strength of character that marked his labors upon other communities.

The archives of the Nation that had honored him, and which he in turn honored, bear mute but unanswerable testimony that establishes the fact beyond cavil that in his day and generation he well and ably played his part, had been true to the people of Arkansas who had greatly honored him, and done those things his hands found to do and with a great willingness. That which was accomplished by him, Mr. Speaker, and the ideals for which he contended, have done much to make this country the one intended by the fathers—

A land of settled government;
A land of old and just renown,
Where freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent.

Yes, if you please, a representative government and, in its broadest sense, where the door of opportunity swings open to all alike, and where, under our institutions, is sought to be underwritten the guaranty that individual worth shall be the test supreme and every man a free man.

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ARKANSAS'S TRIBUTE TO MR. CLARKE

In a short time after the passing of Senator CLARKE the State of Arkansas speedily and with affectionate regard voiced its appreciation of his worth as a man, and as a fitting recognition of his great public service, by the adoption of a concurrent resolution providing for the placing of his statue in the Hall of Fame, once the old Hall of Representatives and directly located under the great white Dome of our Nation's Capitol. There his statue will stand for the years to come, to be viewed and admired by the multitudes that yearly find their way to the seat of the Federal Government. In illustrious company will his statue be, and justly so. There also in this historic Chamber are to be found the statues of many of the great men this country has produced from its inception and which has made our Nation the marvel of the world.

There can be seen the statues of Blair and Benton from Missouri; Kirkwood and Harlan, of Iowa; Zeb Vance, of North Carolina; Ethan Allen, of Vermont; Calhoun, of South Carolina; Garfield, of Ohio; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts; Wisconsin's tribute in the form of the statue of Marquette, who explored the upper Mississippi; the imposing form in bronze of that proud and brave man beloved by the South as a whole, Robert E. Lee, whose fortune it was to lead the greatest army the world ever saw—that army in gray, which on account of great opposing numbers was compelled, naked and half starving, to lay down their arms at Appomattox to the suffering Grant. Yes, and also in this company is found the likeness of Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin, of Texas, two great pioneers that blazed out the way of a great civilization upon our western frontier; to be seen also is the statue of Fulton studying the model of his steamboat; the great Washington, of Virginia, is there, and many more which time and space forbid me to enumerate. Side by side with

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another great Arkansan, too, the chaste, the gentle man, the scholar, the lawyer, author and linguist, Judge U. M. Rose, whose memory to-day is revered by all Arkansans, will stand proudly erect the statue of JAMES P. CLARKE, a kindred soul in the midst of these great national American characters.

SENATOR CLARKE AS A HOME MAN

Senator CLARKE was a lover of children. On one occasion I saw two boys, one 6 and the other 4 years of age, find their way into his office. The Senator received them graciously. He laid down the affairs of state for their benefit, forgot the contemplation of momentous questions, and for quite a while reveled in the company of these little fellows. Unless invited to do so few people disturbed Senator CLARKE in the privacy of his office, but these children were the exception to the rule and this picture throws a new light on the character of Senator CLARKE unknown to some. He made these children feel that his heart beat in unison with their childish hearts. He invited them to climb upon great mail sacks filled with books and in turn he rollicked with them by insisting that they jump in his arms. This performance was repeated a number of times. On another occasion in going with him from his office to the Senate Chamber well do I remember the meeting he had with two other children, 2 and 4 years of age, attended by their nurse. At this particular time he was disturbed by pending legislation regarding the cotton situation and vital to the South especially. On meeting these children he inquired their names. True to the ever-present tender impulses of his heart for children again for a moment he forgot the important questions that were challenging and demanding his best attention and clamoring for successful conclusion and fondling the smaller child for a few minutes and bending down over and embracing it, and then

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after shaking hands with the older one he bade them good-by and with a parting injunction and with that characteristic swing of his arm, he said: "Gentlemen, I hope our orbits will soon cross again." Also, no man was ever regarded by his own family more as the prince of all men than was Senator CLARKE. On one occasion while a guest in his home an opportunity was afforded to judge his life from this angle. I shall never forget the beautiful scene of domestic happiness that was mine to enjoy while there. "His home seemed to be the center of his affection and the fountain of mutual joy." In the sitting room, at the dinner table, he was the embodiment of all those refinements that were chivalrous and tender and which go to make the home the universe for those that dwell within it. In a mood brimful of merriment and repartee he was the suitor and courtier to the mother of his children, a cavalier in conduct toward his gracious daughters, while every word addressed to the son that bore his name and every lineament of the Senator's face proved the extent of the depth of that great love which he bore his only boy; while for all of those collectively that were dependent upon him, and which at last go to make up the greatest of our institutions, the American home, there will forever linger with me a picture of domestic happiness that is beautiful to contemplate.

A BORN LAWYER

As a lawyer the purity of his ethics was never questioned. He loved his profession and entirely respected it by revering all those things for which it stands and has stood in the world's history. He never profaned this great calling by descending to those methods that were questionable and which is the stock in trade of the pettifogger. His acts, his words, and his course of action in the pursuit of his chosen profession were always upon the

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“mountain ranges of the law,” and from this viewpoint he respected always true lawyers and in turn commanded respect from them.

Mr. Speaker, time will not permit me to further comment on the pure character of Senator CLARKE or to further enumerate here that which he accomplished in the various fields of activities in which he figured and played a part so important. They are safely chronicled on the bright pages of the history of his country which he loved, and in which he believed, and which he so well and faithfully served. The historian of the future will pay Senator CLARKE that merited tribute that is his and which he so deservedly won. No poor words of mine can add additional luster to the life and fame of him who was my friend and of whom I was proud. In his death a distinguished patriot, an able and pure statesman, and a noble man has gone into the far country. Mr. Speaker, if honesty of purpose, cleanliness of deed, thought, and action, a courage to do that which is right because it is right, if character builded on the teachings of Holy Writ have their reward—and they do, for God loves and lives and rules—then when dissolution came to the chivalrous and intrepid spirit of Senator JAMES P. CLARKE, and the world and all it contained was slipping from beneath him, his dying eyes caught a vision of the beautiful scenes of fields elysian, and on “his feverish brow he felt the breath of the morn eternal.”

ADDRESS OF MR. HUMPHREYS, OF MISSISSIPPI

MR. SPEAKER: Senator CLARKE was a native of Mississippi, and although his lot was cast with a sister State and his name and fame associated with the great name of Arkansas, Mississippi has always claimed him for her own, a son in whom she was well pleased. It was my good fortune, Mr. Speaker, to be thrown in rather more intimate association with Senator CLARKE than is usual with those who serve here from different States and in the different Houses of Congress. Our legislative purposes were very much the same. There was one great object, the attainment of which inspired us both and brought us into intimate collaboration. That being true, it is hardly necessary, it is in fact mere surplusage, to say that I soon discovered in him a man of genius and of unusual mental force.

I believe in raw mentality, if I may use such a crude phrase, he was the equal of any man with whom he came in contact in that great, if not the greatest of all legislative assemblies. That he came, through the choice of his fellows, to be the President pro tempore of the Senate when his party gained control there after 18 years as a minority was no surprise to those who knew him; it was, in fact, as inevitable in the orderly course of natural events as that the sparks fly upward. It was said and has been suggested here to-day that Senator CLARKE was not a good party man; that he did not at all times recognize the authority of his political organization; that, to use a homely phrase, he was not always politically bridle-wise; and that is probably true. Certain it is that neither in the Senate nor on the stump in Arkansas did he ever "bend the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift might follow fawning." He never made commerce of his politi-

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cal convictions; he never traded or offered to trade, either here or on the stump, his opinions for votes. Nature had most generously illumined his great mind with the light of reason, and he used that divine attribute as became a man made in the image of his Maker. Cæsar says that—

Cowards die many times before their deaths,
The valiant never taste of death but once.

If that be true, I think we may say with assurance that the first time JAMES P. CLARKE ever met the grim reaper was on the first day of last October, when he laid down the burdens of this life.

Blest and equipped as he thus was, with strong mind and invincible courage, no wonder he succeeded. He literally demanded the lavish favor of the fates, and his rise in his profession and his elevation through progressive steps to the highest offices in the gift of his people was as inevitable as it was rapid.

I said, Mr. Speaker, I had been intimately associated with him because of a common legislative purpose which animated and inspired us both. The last time I saw Senator CLARKE he told me that the great predominant purpose of his official life was to secure the passage in the Senate of a bill which had been sent there by the House which would rescue his people from the ravages of the floods of the Mississippi River; and to that purpose, Mr. Speaker, "he was as constant as the northern star, of whose true-fixed and resting quality there is no fellow in the firmament." Had he lived I think no man will doubt that that legislation would to-day stand upon the statute books. Unfortunately for us all, he was taken from us "like the summer-dried fount when our need was the sorest."

I have been to the Senate many times this session, and when I have observed the situation there, seen that great measure time and time again set aside for less impor-

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR CLARKE

tant matters, and noted the absence of the great champion upon whom we depended with such confidence and reliance, I have almost involuntarily exelaimed—

Where, where was Roderick then?

One blast upon his bugle horn were worth a thousand men.

Being a Mississippian, and being one who enjoyed the friendship of the distinguished gentleman whose death we lament to-day, I felt, Mr. Speaker, that it was proper that I should pay him this last tribute of my respect. There were few men whom I admired more than Senator CLARKE. I was one of those who were favored with his friendship. From my first acquaintance with him down to the day of his death I had many proofs of it. We have heard it stated here to-day, and all of us who knew him realize the fact, that he was not only an aggressive man, a foreeful man, a positive man, but sometimes it seemed an overbearing man, a pugnacious man; but, as is common with all who are so blessed with force of character and courage, he had a gentler side.

A gentleman was telling me last night at the hotel of a trip that he made after adjournment of Congress on a train with Senator CLARKE on his way baek to Arkansas. This gentleman had never seen any other side than that which I have just referred to. They met on the train—this gentleman had his family with him—in a casual way. It was purely a social meeting, and there for the first time was revealed to him that other side of this great character. There was no battle then in progress; no conflict of wits, no struggle for supremacy, and this gentleman was charmed, he was indeed fascinated, by his genial personality. His little girl was with him, and the Senator was partieularly altraeted to her. Her childish prattle, her unsophisticated innocence, appealed to his great heart which many strong men thought was adamant, and after he had reached his home in Arkansas he wrote this little

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child a letter manifesting the gentleness of that rugged nature which was frequently hidden from other men.

But this, of course, is the characteristic of all brave souls. I think I can fittingly close this meager tribute to the memory of a man whom I admired and loved by quoting that verse of Bayard Taylor to the soldier who fell in the Crimea—

Sleep, soldier, still in honored rest
Your truth and valor wearing;
The bravest are the tenderest,
The loving are the daring.

ADDRESS OF MR. RAYBURN, OF TEXAS

Mr. SPEAKER: I would not feel like saying anything to-day upon this occasion, as I feel I can not add anything to the tribute that has already been paid to Senator CLARKE, if it were not for the fact that my relationship with him for the last three years of his life was so close and so intimate. For the last three years of his life, while Congress was in session—and it was in practically continuous session—I lived at the same hotel with him and sat at the same table with him. I grew to admire his great ability as I have admired the ability of few men in my life, and I can say that I had for him an affection, deep and abiding, such as I have had for few men in all my life. I believe that he gave to me as much friendship and as much of his confidence as it were possible for a man of his age to give to one of my age.

Senator CLARKE was pictured by a great many people, who did not agree with him or who did not like him, as being everything that he was not. Senator CLARKE was one of the most human beings I ever knew in my life. As has been said, in the fierce struggles over principles, in the fierce debates, and in the fierce conflicts of wits he knew no favorites; he knew nothing but the guiding star of principle. And that is what should guide men.

Senator CLARKE had the old conception, and therefore the true conception, of a public servant, and that was that a public servant should be a leader of his people and not a follower of his people. He had that supreme confidence in the wisdom and in the patriotism of the people to believe that if he were right the people would always finally come to support him in that right. He had a

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supremer confidence, therefore, in the people than the average politician of this day has.

The thing that drew me closer to Senator CLARKE than anything else was, I think, the companionship and the love that he gave to his only son. I knew him after I had heard a great deal of him and of the rough side of his nature—that he was this thing or he was that thing. When I see that a man is capable of a great love, I know it matters not what that man has done; that man can not be wholly a bad man. If Senator CLARKE in his life had ever done a bad thing, it would have been a big bad thing. It would not have been a little bad thing. I know from my talks with him every day that his great heart beat in unison and in sympathy with the great masses of the people, not alone of his own beloved State of Arkansas that had done so much to honor him and that he had in turn so signally honored. I know that his heart was with those people, and he tried that his acts might be such that those people would be benefited.

I am proud that the State of Arkansas has had wisdom and patriotism enough to vote in its legislature to place the statue of that great man out in this Hall of Immortals here, because if they had waited for a hundred years and had searched the annals of the State of Arkansas they would not, in my opinion, have found his like again.

Senator CLARKE was not an old man when he died. Although he had been honored with everything that the State of Arkansas could give him, and had been elevated to the highest office within the gift of the United States Senate, he was a man of only 62 years. I simply wanted to say these words in tribute to the memory of this great and, I know, this good man. I know that in his life he did not know what fear was, and I know that he had a divine confidence in the existence of a Supreme Being and of a life that lies beyond death. I do not know what con-

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ception he had of the Great Beyond except that; but knowing the man as I did, when the summons came and he knew that he was about to cross the Great River, I know that he was not afraid.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Unless some other gentleman desires to speak of the life and character of Senator CLARKE, this concludes the exercises to-day in behalf of Senator CLARKE.

Mr. CARAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to ask unanimous consent that those who have not spoken to-day may be permitted to extend their remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Arkansas asks unanimous consent that those who have not spoken to-day be permitted to extend their remarks in the Record. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

MONDAY, February 19, 1917.

A message from the Senate by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. JAMES P. CLARKE, late a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.



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